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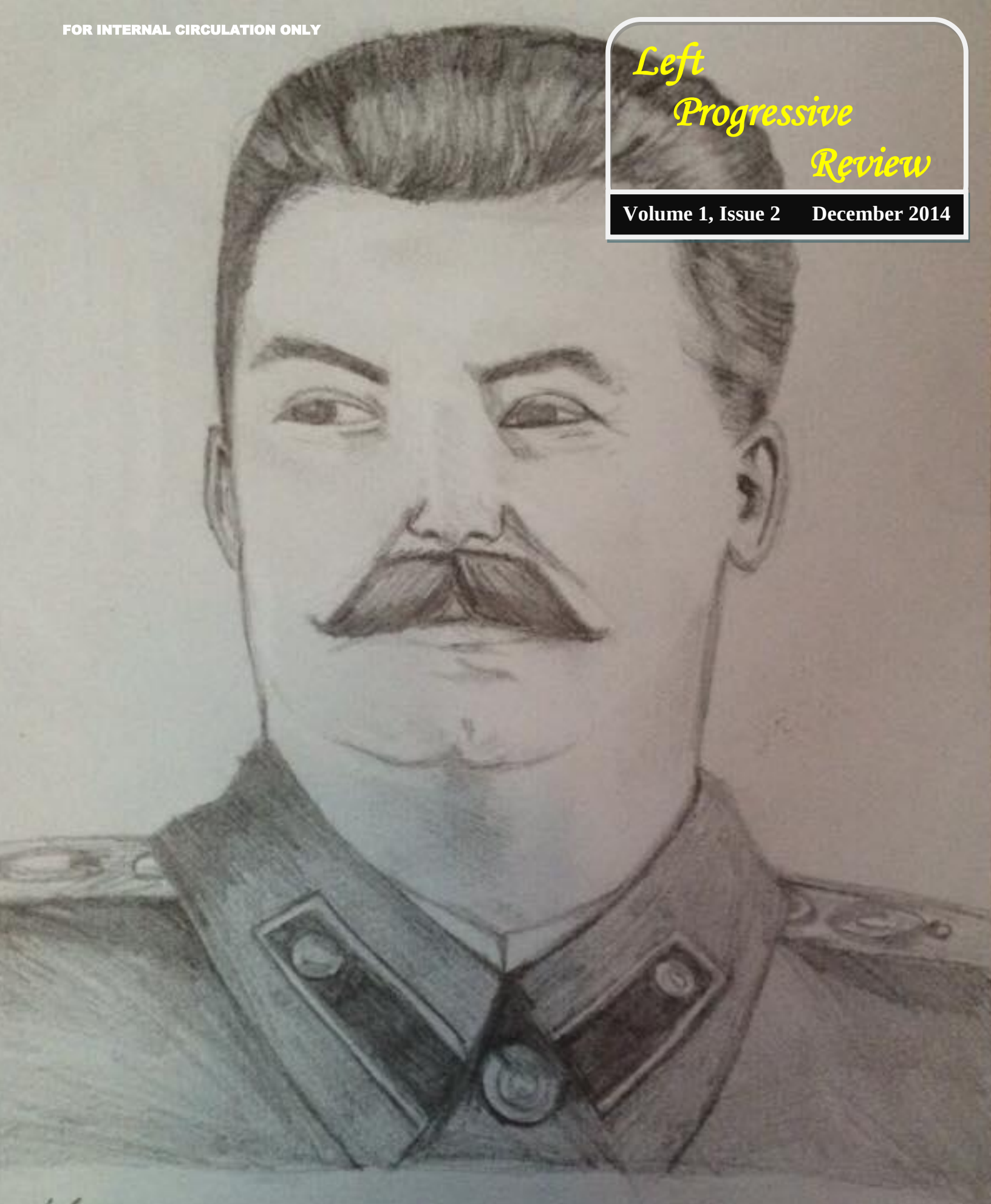

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Left Progressive Review

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Speech at Nineteenth Party Congress

J. V. Stalin

(*The appearance of Comrade Stalin on the rostrum is greeted with loud and long continuing applause and cheers. All rise. Cries of "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Stalin!" "Glory to our great Stalin!"*)

Comrades, permit me to express the gratitude of our congress to all the fraternal parties and groups whose representatives have honoured our congress with their presence, or who have sent greetings to the congress -- gratitude for their friendly felicitations, for their wishes of success, for their confidence. (*Loud and prolonged applause and cheers.*)

It is their confidence that we particularly prize, for it signifies readiness to support our Party in its struggle for a brighter future for the peoples, in its struggle against war, its struggle for the preservation of peace. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

It would be a mistake to think that, having become a mighty force, our Party is no longer in need of support. That is not true. Our Party and our country have always needed, and will need, the confidence, the sympathy and the support of fraternal peoples abroad.

The distinguishing feature of this support is that whenever any fraternal party supports the peaceable aspirations of our Party, it is at the same time supporting its own people in their struggle for the preservation of peace. When, in 1918-19, at the time of the armed attack of the British bourgeoisie on the Soviet Union, the British workers organized a struggle against war under the watchword of "Hands off Russia!" this was support -- support, primarily, for the struggle of their own people for peace, and support also for the Soviet Union. When Comrade Thorez or Comrade Togliatti declare that their peoples will not fight the peoples of the Soviet Union (*loud applause*), that is support -- support, primarily, for the workers and peasants of France and Italy who are fighting for peace, and support also for the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union. This distinguishing feature of mutual support is to be explained by the fact that the interests of our Party do not contradict, but, on the contrary merge with the interests of the peace-loving peoples. (*Loud applause.*) As to the Soviet Union, its interests are altogether inseparable from the cause of world-wide peace.

Naturally, our Party cannot remain indebted to the fraternal parties, and it must in its turn render support to them and also to their peoples in their struggle for emancipation, and in their struggle for the preservation of peace. As we know, that is exactly what it is doing. (*Loud applause.*) After our Party had assumed power in 1917, and after it had taken effective measures to abolish capitalist and landlord oppression, representatives of the fraternal parties, in their admiration for the daring and success of our Party, conferred upon it the title of "Shock Brigade" of the world revolutionary and labour movement. By this, they were expressing the hope that the successes of the "Shock Brigade" would help to ease the position of the peoples languishing under the yoke of capitalism. I think that our Party has justified these hopes, especially so in the Second World War, when the Soviet Union, by smashing the German and Japanese fascist tyranny, delivered the peoples of Europe and Asia from the menace of fascist slavery. (*Loud applause.*)

It was very hard, of course, to perform this honourable mission so long as ours was a single and solitary "Shock Brigade," so long as it had to perform this mission of vanguard almost alone. But that was in the past. Today the situation is quite different. Today, when from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, new "Shock Brigades" have appeared in the shape of the People's Democracies -- now it has become easier for our Party to fight, ay, and the work is going more merrily. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Those communist, democratic, and workers' and peasants' parties which have not yet come to power and are still working under the heel of bourgeois draconic laws are deserving of particular attention.

For them, of course, the work is harder. But it is not as hard for them to work as it was for us, the Russian Communists, in the period of tsarism, when the slightest movement forward was declared a severe crime. However, the Russian Communists stood their ground, were not daunted by difficulties, and achieved victory. So it will be with these parties.

Why will it not be so difficult for these parties to work as it was for the Russian Communists in the period of tsarism?

Firstly, because they have before their eyes such examples of struggle and achievement as are to be seen in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Consequently, they are in a position to learn from the mistakes and achievements of these countries and thus lighten their own work.

Secondly, because the bourgeoisie the chief enemy of the emancipation movement -- has itself become different, has changed substantially, has become more reactionary, has lost its ties with the people, and has thereby weakened itself. Naturally, this circumstance too should lighten the work of the revolutionary and democratic parties. (*Loud applause.*)

Formerly, the bourgeoisie could afford to play the liberal, to uphold the bourgeois-democratic liberties, and thus gain popularity with the people. Now not a trace remains of this liberalism. The so-called "liberty of the individual" no longer exists -- the rights of the individual are now extended only to those who possess capital, while all other citizens are regarded as human raw material, fit only to be exploited. The principle of equal rights for men and nations has been trampled in the mud; it has been replaced by the principle of full rights for the exploiting minority and no rights for the exploited majority. The banner of bourgeois-democratic liberties has been thrown overboard. I think that it is you, the representatives of the communist and democratic parties, who will have to raise this banner and carry it forward, if you want to gather around you the majority of the people. There is nobody else to raise it. (*Loud applause.*)

Formerly, the bourgeoisie was regarded as the head of the nation; it upheld the rights and independence of the nation and placed them "above all else." Now not a trace remains of the "national principle." Now the bourgeoisie sells the rights and independence of the nation for dollars. The banner of national independence and national sovereignty has been thrown overboard. There is no doubt that it is you, the representatives of the communist and democratic parties, who will have to raise this banner and carry it forward, if you want to be patriots of your country, if you want to become the leading force of the nation. There is nobody else to raise it. (*Loud applause.*)

That is how matters stand today.

Naturally, all these circumstances should lighten the work of the communist and democratic parties which have not yet come to power.

Consequently, there is every reason to count upon the success and victory of our fraternal parties in the lands where capital holds sway. (*Loud applause.*)

Long live our fraternal parties! (*Prolonged applause.*)

May the leaders of our fraternal parties live and flourish! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live peace among nations! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Down with the warmongers! (*All rise. Loud and long continuing applause and cheers. Cries of "Long live comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Long live the great leader of the working people of thee world, Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah f or our great Stalin!" "Long live peace among nations!" Cheers.)*

Source: Speech at Nineteenth Party Congress (October 14, 1952), Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Retrieved from http://www.marx2mao.com/Stalin/SNPC52.html

Stalin

Pablo Miranda

Excerpts from a talk held in the Dominican Republic on the 50th anniversary of the death of Comrade Stalin, at the invitation of the Communist Party of Labour.

During his lifetime Comrade Stalin won the admiration and affection of the working class and all the peoples of the vast Soviet Union, as well as the respect and friendship of the workers of the five continents, the fervour and enthusiasm of the communists of all countries. Of course, he elicited the hatred of the reactionaries, imperialists and bourgeois who felt deeply hurt by the colossal achievements of the Soviet Union, by the great economic, cultural, technological and scientific feats of the workers and socialist intelligentsia, by the great and resounding triumphs of the revolution and socialism, of the communists.

In this plot against Stalin by which they fought communism, the Nazi propaganda stood out for its slander and persistence, which did not let one day pass without launching its dire diatribes.

Of course, this counter-revolutionary and anti-communist hatred also characterized Trotsky and his followers.

Shortly after Stalin's death, the voices of the "communists" who had assumed the leadership of the Soviet Party and the State were added to the chorus of the reactionaries and anti-communists of all countries who had always reviled Stalin.

From then until our day, anti-Stalinism has been the recurring voice of all the reactionaries, of the ideologues of the bourgeoisie, of the Trotskyists, revisionists and opportunists of all shades.

By attacking Stalin, they are trying to tear down the extraordinary achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union and in what had been the socialist camp; they want to minimize and even ignore the great contributions of the Red Army and the Soviet peoples in the decisive struggle against Nazism, to denigrate the Communist Party and the socialist system as totalitarian, as the negation of freedom and democracy. By attacking Stalin they are aiming at Lenin, Marx and socialism. To denigrate Stalin as bloodthirsty and a bureaucrat means to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby deny the freedom of the workers and peoples, socialist democracy. To slander Stalin as being ignorant and mediocre is to refuse to recognize his great contributions to revolutionary theory, to Marxism-Leninism. To attack Stalin means to deny the necessity of the existence and struggle of the communist party, to transform it into a movement of free thinkers and anarcho-syndicalists, to remove its Leninist essence, democratic centralism.

The height of anti-Stalinism is to call Stalinists those who betrayed the revolution and socialism in the name of doing away with the "crimes of Stalin" and of making the Soviet Union a "democratic country". The folly of the reactionaries and opportunists does not allow them to recognize that the confessed anti-Stalinists, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev and Yeltsin, destroyed brick by brick the great work of the Soviet working class and peoples, of the communists, of Lenin and Stalin.

The attacks on Stalin are of such magnitude that even a significant number of social fighters, leftists and revolutionaries have fallen victim to these slanders. Basically, they are sincere people, interested in social and national liberation, who do not know the personality and work of Stalin and therefore join the chorus of these distortions. There are also some petty-bourgeois revolutionaries who attack Stalin from supposedly "humanist" positions.

It is up to us communists to defend the revolutionary truth about Stalin, and it is our responsibility because we are his comrades, the ones who are continuing his work.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was one of the great events of humanity. The workers and peoples of the world’s largest country stood up, undertook a long revolutionary process, led by the Bolshevik Party, which led them to victory in October of 1917. This great feat of the workers and peasants, the soldiers and the intelligentsia was a complex process, full of twists and turns and advances and retreats.

The proletarian revolution that smashed the tsarist empire to pieces was inconceivable without the guidance of Marxism, which established itself as the emancipatory doctrine of the working class; without the efforts of Russian communists, mainly of Lenin by his creative application in the social, economic, cultural, historical and political conditions of old Russia; without the building, existence and struggle of the Bolshevik Party; without the decisive participation of the working class and the millions of poor

peasants; without the social and political mobilization of the broad masses; without the existence and fighting of the Red Army; and without the important contribution of the international working class.

Several decades of strikes and street battles; the utilization of parliamentary struggle and the participation of the communists in the Duma; the ideological and political struggle against the bourgeoisie and the tsarist autocracy; the organization of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers; the great theoretical and political debate against opportunism within the party that led to the isolation of the Menshevik theses and proposals and to the formation of the Bolshevik Party governed by democratic centralism; the fierce battles against social chauvinism and social pacifism on an international scale; the profuse and fruitful propaganda activity of the communists; the fight to win ideological and political hegemony within the Soviets; the Revolution of 1905 and its lessons; the February Revolution of 1917, its results and consequences; the great armed insurrection of October; the Brest-Litovsk peace agreements; the revolutionary civil war; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, these constitute the most salient features and characteristics of the struggle for power of the Russian communists, organized in the Bolshevik Party.

Stalin was born in Gori, a small town close to Tbilisi, in Georgia, on December 21, 1879. His father was a shoemaker, the son of serfs, and his mother, a servant, was also the daughter of serfs.

He joined into the ranks of the party in 1898, when he was 19 years old, and since that time his life, thoughts, dreams and his intellectual and physical effort were devoted to the cause of communism, to the fight for the revolution and socialism.

Until March of 1917 when he moved to Petrograd and joined the editorship of Pravda, Stalin had been and was a tireless organizer of trade unions and the party, of demonstrations and strikes, of newspapers and magazines, a student of Marxism and the author of various documents and proposals. He had been in prison and exile, at Party congresses and conferences. He was a fighter and leader of the revolution.

The revolutionary period that began with the February Revolution was the scene of great ideological and political confrontations against the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, but also against the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, and also within the Party. The whole process of winning the majority of the Soviets for the policy of the Bolsheviks had in Stalin a great leader and architect. The preparation of the insurrection, the technical and military contacts and preparations and also the debate within the leadership of the Bolshevik Party found in Stalin a protagonist of the highest order; he was a great comrade of Lenin in all aspects of political work.

Stalin was part of the first Soviet government as a People's Commissar of Nationalities; he participated actively in the revolutionary civil war as a Commissar and Commander on various fronts and showed his military and political ability in forging and consolidating the young Soviet power and strengthening the Red Army. He was one of the most outstanding leaders of the party, the government and the army.

In 1921, by decision of the party and together with Lenin he participated actively in the foundation of the Third or Communist International, which would play a great role in the organization and leadership of the revolution on the international level.

A great task that the proletarian revolution took up was the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which meant concretely the application of the line of the Party with regard to the nationalities and peoples. The "prison-house of nations" that was the tsarist empire became a community of nations, nationalities and peoples, governed by socialism, which put forward the defence and development of the national cultures and their inclusion in the building of the new society.

Having taken up these responsibilities, his dedication and selflessness in their fulfilment and his theoretical ability made Stalin the General Secretary of the Party in 1922. When Lenin died in 1924, the Political Bureau of the Party designated Stalin as the main leader of the party.

The Communist Party (Bolshevik), under the leadership of Stalin, faithful to the Leninist legacy, pushed through the New Economic Policy (NEP) during the 1920s. Amidst great difficulties, relying on the mobilization of the working class and peasantry, defeating the blockade, sabotage and resistance of the defeated reactionary classes and the force of individual capitalism that emerged in the peasant economy, it succeeded in overcoming the disastrous material, economic and social situation that Russia had been in after the Civil War, with production reduced to 14% of the pre-war period, and which was seen in widespread famine and the profusion of diseases.

In this period a bitter ideological and political battle was being waged within the party between the Bolsheviks and the so-called "'Left' communists," who wanted to "export the revolution" and place the weight of the economy on the peasantry, liquidating it as an ally of the proletariat.

In 1929, the NEP was concluded and the accelerated collectivization of the countryside was begun, the great battle against the kulaks who wanted to reverse the revolutionary process in the countryside.

In 1930, the process of large-scale industrialization was pushed forward with great material efforts and supported by the mobilization of the working class. It was a great feat that required large investments and therefore limited the possibilities for the well-being of the great masses of workers and peasants. Despite this, the revolutionary fervour and enthusiasm allowed for the fulfilment and even over-fulfilment of its goals.

In the West, this was the time of the Great Depression; in the country of the Soviets it was the time of the victorious construction of socialism. The Soviet Union became the second greatest economic and commercial power in the world, after the United States. For eleven years, between 1930 and 1940, the USSR had an average growth of industrial production of 16.5%.

A good part of socialist accumulation had to be invested in the defence and security of the Soviet Union, which had to deal with the arms race to which all the capitalist countries of Europe, the USA and Japan were committed.

For 1938-39, the danger of imperialist war hung over Europe and the world. The German Nazis, the Italian fascists and the Japanese reactionaries were moving quickly to form the Axis. The Western powers headed by the Anglo-French alliance worked feverishly to conclude a pact with Germany in order to encourage it to direct its attacks against the Soviet Union, in order to liquidate the communists, wear down the Germans and enter the war under better conditions. It was a devious and cunning diplomatic game that handed over the Sudetenland and the rest of Czechoslovakia to the Germans.

The Soviet Union was a developing economic and military power, but its military capability was much weaker than that of Germany, France, England or the USA. It was surrounded by powerful enemies and needed material resources and time to prepare itself for the eventual war which was announced with cannons and aircraft.

The Soviet Union needed to combine international diplomacy and politics with its industrial development and military power. This circumstance forced the communists to devote a large quantity of material resources in this direction, but also to seek diplomatic alternatives that enabled its defence.

Several international meetings, endless proposals and projects were addressed to the chancelleries. The Soviet Union could not establish an alliance against Nazism since the main interest of the Western powers made the Soviet Union their target. In these circumstances and for its defence, in August 1939, the Molotov-Von Ribbentrop Pact of "non-aggression between Germany and the Soviet Union" was signed.

This international treaty gave the Soviet Union precious time to push forward its military industry. Utilizing large material resources and the will of the peoples, in a short time it was able to build planes, tanks, cannons, weapons and ammunition in large quantities and simultaneously it could relocate its key industries located in European Russia to the East, behind the Urals.

World War II broke out in 1939. The Germans invaded Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, the Balkans, France, Belgium and Netherlands and utilizing "blitzkrieg" tactics, the lightening war, in few weeks they destroyed the armies of those countries and imposed puppet governments.

When it came to the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, the Germans did not have the military capacity to carry out and win with the blitzkrieg; they ran into the resistance of the Red Army, the guerrillas and the great masses of workers and peasants who defended the socialist fatherland. The Red Army put up a fierce resistance and gave way to the Nazi troops, forcing them to penetrate into a vast territory, teeming with guerrillas who persistently harassed them. They could not take Leningrad much less Moscow. In Stalingrad a major battle was waged, street by street, house by house, man by man. The reds resisted and then took the initiative and defeated the German army. That was the beginning of the end of the fascist beast.

The Red Army launched the re-conquest of its territories occupied by the Nazis and advanced victoriously across the mountains and plains of Europe, contributing to the liberation of several of the countries of Eastern Europe, up to Berlin, which was taken on May 9, 1945.

This great victory of the Soviet Union was the fruit of the fortress of socialism, of the unity and will to action of the working class and peoples, of the valour of the Red Army, but it was also a consequence of the diplomatic, political and military genius of the General Staff and the leadership of the Soviet Party and Government, led by Stalin.

At the end of the war, the victory of the revolution took place in several countries of Europe, which established people's democratic governments, and the victory of the revolution in other Asian countries. The Soviet Union emerged as a great economic and military power that won the affection and respect of workers and peoples of the world, of the patriots and democrats, of the revolutionaries and especially the communists. The Soviet Union, Stalin and the Communist Party were the great protagonists in the defeat of fascism.

The Great Patriotic War meant great human and material sacrifices for the Proletarian State. The victory achieved was built upon the great spiritual heritage of socialism that protected the workers and peoples of the USSR; it was made possible by the great patriotic sentiments with which the Communist Party was able to inspire the bodies and minds of the Soviet peoples, by the deep affection of the workers for Soviet power, by the brave and courageous contribution of the communists who put all their abilities and energy into the defence of socialism. The contribution of the Soviet Union in the Second World War was more than 20 million human beings, of which slightly more than 3 million were brave members of the Bolshevik Party. The Party gave over its best men to the war, it lost invaluable political and military cadres, but it also further tempered the Bolshevik steel, and at the end of the war it had gained more than 5 million new members.

At Yalta and Tehran, at the peace negotiations, the workers and peoples of the world had a great representative, Comrade Stalin, who knew, with wisdom, prudence and composure, how to restore the rights of the peoples and countries that had been victims of the war and fascism, how to contribute to the establishment of agreements and open the way to new levels of democracy and freedom in the world.

World War II was the prelude to the national liberation of dozens of countries on the five continents, who won their independence by breaking with the old colonial order. The Soviet Union led by Stalin was always the safe and reliable rear of this great liberation movement.

In the field of the revolution, the victories achieved in Albania and other countries of Eastern Europe, in China, Korea and Vietnam, gave rise to the formation of the powerful socialist camp. A quarter of the population living on a third of the Earth's surface were building socialism and had in the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, an enlightening example and unreserved support. In the rest of the world, the working class, the peasantry, the youth and the progressive intelligentsia saw the socialist future of humanity with certainty and confidence.

On the other hand, the end of the Second World War established a new order within the capitalist sphere. The United States became the main world power and had hegemony over the capitalist countries.

There arose a new contradiction in the international sphere: one that opposed the old world of capital to the new world of socialism. The bourgeois ideologues and politicians called this the "cold war", alluding to the antagonism of the dispute.

Once more the superiority of socialism became evident. In the Soviet Union, but also in the other countries of the socialist camp, the culture and well-being of the masses, science and technology, the social and material progress of the workers and peoples flourished. In 1949 the USSR was able to build the atomic bomb and in 1957 it launched the space race, taking the lead.

Neo-colonialism, a form of imperialist domination that emerged after the independence of the dependent nations and countries, always had a counterweight in the Soviet Union led by Stalin. The peoples of the former colonies always had a loyal friend.

Within a few years, from 1917 to the early years of the 1950s, the proletarians, led by the communists organized in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, built the dreams of a new world, the world of socialism. They built the essentials, many things were lacking, some failed, but humanity never knew a broader and truer democracy, never before were men in their multitudes able to have material and social well-being, equality among their peers. This was proletarian democracy.

It was an epic of the workers and peoples, the realization in life of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, the gigantic effort of the communists, the serene and bold work of the leaders, Lenin and Stalin.

When we speak of Stalin we are referring to the leader, the organizer, the head, the comrade and friend, who was really one of the great builders of the new man, of the new humanity.

This understanding of Stalin cannot be conceived without discovering and learning about his extraordinary theoretical work.

From the beginning of his communist activity he correctly evaluated the role of theory in the process of organizing and making the revolution. He studied the Marxist materials that he had at hand, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the works of

Plekhanov, and soon he began to familiarize himself with Lenin, by his writings and directives, his valour as organizer and head of the communists, until he saw him in person at party events. From that time on they had a great friendship affirmed in militancy and the great commonality of opinions and concerns. Stalin was also a great reader of Russian literature. He was a man of vast culture, which grew daily throughout his life.

How can one not keep in mind in the training of communists in all countries his most outstanding works: Anarchism or Socialism?, Marxism and the National Question, On the Problem of Nationalities, The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists, The Foundations of Leninism, Concerning Questions of Leninism, Trotskyism or Leninism?, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Marxism and Linguistics, Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, the Reports to the Congresses of the Communist Party.

Stalin was a theoretician of the revolution, a Marxist who recreated and developed revolutionary theory in order to provide answers to the problems put forward by the revolution. He was not a theoretician who speculated with knowledge to try to generate ideas and proposals. No, his theoretical work addressed burning issues that had to do with the development of the class struggle, with the problems that the party, the trade unions, the state and the revolution were facing on an international scale.

The depth of his writings is not at odds with the simple form of making them understood. Stalin is rigorous in his theoretical analysis, his positions are valid; they provide a real guide to action, as he himself pointed out referring to Marxism, but also they are simple and easy to understand.

Stalin's detractors insist on some issues that we should analyze. All of them: the confessed reactionaries of anti-communism, the Trotskyists, the revisionists and opportunists of all shades agree principally on the following charges: intellectual mediocrity, Lenin's testament that supposedly condemned him, the building of socialism in a single country, forced collectivization, the bureaucratization of the party and state, the liquidation of the Bolshevik old guard, the great purges, his tyrannical and bloodthirsty character, forced industrialization, his incompetence in the war, the cult of personality.

With regard to Stalin's intellectual mediocrity, the facts, history and its vicissitudes speak emphatically. The October Revolution, the building of socialism in a large country and for the first time in the history of mankind, his skill in leading the party, the working class and the peoples of the USSR in the great feat of building a new world would not have been possible with a mediocre leader who was poor intellectually. These diatribes fall under their own weight. Trotsky, who claimed to be a great theoretician and man of culture and was one of his detractors in this area, was defeated precisely, in theory and practice, by one who, according to him, was a mediocrity.

In regard to the so-called "Lenin Testament," a lot of nonsense has been written, such as that Trotsky was the one anointed by Lenin to replace him as head of the Party, as if those notes of Lenin had been hidden by the Central Committee. We say that Lenin's health was very shaky in those days in which he is supposed to have written the famous "testament", his sensitivity was weakened by the complaints of his companion. However, Lenin had the revolutionary culture, the Bolshevik training to understand that he could not have written a testament, a last will; he also knew that one leader, whatever his rank, can only give his opinions, not orders, in the collective. For these reasons one must understand these notes of Lenin as opinions; moreover, they were out of the context of the everyday life of the leadership of the Party and State and in no way were they orders to be complied with without question. On the other hand, it is completely false that these notes were hidden from the Central Committee; the latter knew about and discussed them. The results were known; Stalin was chosen the Main Leader of the Bolshevik Party and that was a correct and wise decision. History has shown these facts irrefutably. The one supposedly anointed by Lenin as leader of the Party, Trotsky, was placed by life and the revolutionary struggle in the dustbin of the counter-revolution.

The Leninist thesis of the building of socialism in one country takes into account the uneven development of capitalism and as a consequence the various stages of the class struggle. That situation made it possible to break the chain of imperialism at its weakest link, old Russia. Stalin was the one who continued this line. Relying on the workers and peasants, on the great spiritual and materials reserves of the Soviet peoples he carried out the great feat, defended the revolution and defeated the detractors of this thesis. Those who raised the impossibility of building socialism in the Soviet Union as long as the revolution did not succeed in the capitalist countries of Europe and labelled the peasants as reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries were proven to be wrong. The USSR developed and so far there has been no revolution in any of the capitalist countries in Europe.

On the forced collectivization of the countryside, Stalin's detractors claim that "he violated the will of the peasants, destroyed the agrarian economy and eliminated the social base of the revolution made up by the medium and rich peasants, the kulaks". The facts are diametrically opposite. The necessary carrying out of the NEP in the countryside developed the rural bourgeoisie in a natural way and stripped millions of poor farmers of the land, depriving the population of cereals. Basing itself on Marxism-Leninism and taking social reality into account, the Party proposed to bring socialism to the countryside. Relying on the millions

of poor peasants, it pushed forward a great social and political movement for the formation of cooperatives, the kolkhozes; this meant the expropriation of the kulaks, in some cases people's tribunals and drastic sanctions. International reaction spoke of repression and massacres. In reality there was a socialist revolution in the countryside, the work of millions of poor peasants who assumed their role as the protagonists in the life of the country of the Soviets. And, as we know, a revolution unleashes the initiative and achievements of the masses, but also the anger of its enemies. As a result, agriculture and livestock flourished, the Soviet Union became the largest producer of wheat, the mechanization and the modernization of agriculture reached unprecedented levels, at the forefront on the international scale.

Stalin is continually blamed for the bureaucratization that was in reality growing in the party and State. Stalin was never in his life a bureaucrat. Quite the contrary, his dynamism was always expressed in direct contact with the base of the party and with the masses; he was one of the leaders of the Soviets before the revolution. His whole life was in action.

Bureaucracy is a social phenomenon, a degeneration that arises in the bourgeois administration (remember that a good part of the Bolshevik administration had to resort to old tsarist functionaries) that penetrated into the revolutionary ranks, into the party and State. Bureaucracy was really present in the life of the Socialist State; it affected many activists and leaders. In some cases the responsibilities of power were transformed into small or large privileges that were creating a caste of bureaucrats who undermined the functioning of the party and the state administration, which separated the party from the masses.

Stalin did not promote the bureaucracy, but in reality he did not have either the ability or the experience to eliminate it. Several offensives of an ideological character aimed at eliminating it took place, precisely under Stalin's initiative. The political education, ideological struggle, the validity of democracy in the party, the party elections were expressions of the struggle of the communists against bureaucracy. They cannot be dismissed having been useless. They achieved results; among other things they allowed for the continuation of the social and material achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the ideological, political and organizational cleansing of the party and State, the isolation and expulsion of several groups of opportunists and traitors. However, in fact, they were not able to eradicate the bureaucracy and opportunism. Various opportunists and traitors evaded the ideological struggle and hid. They would return later, after the death of Stalin.

It is clear that bureaucracy is an ideological illness which is persistently reborn and which must be fought relentlessly to the end. Stalin did not promote bureaucracy; rather he was one of its victims.

The accusation made against Stalin that he was a bloody dictator and despot and refers to the ideological cleansing, to the revolutionary repression of the counter-revolutionary outbreaks in the city and countryside, to the alleged liquidation of the Bolshevik old guard.

It is necessary to understand that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a wedding party in which everything is rosy. No, quite the contrary. A whole armed, economic campaign, a trade boycott, an ideological and political penetration by imperialism and the international bourgeoisie was orchestrated against the dictatorship of the proletariat. In opposition to the new power of the workers, from within society, the old ruling classes, overthrown by the revolution but not physically eliminated, repeatedly carried out acts of sabotage; they tried many times to organize rebellions and uprisings, using mercenaries and men and women of the people who were deceived; they based themselves on religion and the priests, on feudal traditions, on liberal elements in the administration and on some occasions they infiltrated their agents into the party and the Soviet State. Within the party itself, in the new State and in the Red Army, there appeared over and over again degenerate elements who made attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat in theory and practice, who tried to divert the party, to assume its leadership, to organize coups d'état. Some of these elements had been, in the past, outstanding members and leaders of the party and the revolution and they tried, therefore, to take advantage of their positions to change the course of socialism.

The fight to preserve and defend the line of the Party, its ideological, political and organizational unity was bitter and persistent, because again and again, the counter-revolution grew stronger in its attacks and, during Stalin's life, it was again and again defeated by the force of reason, by the firmness of the Bolsheviks, by the support of the base of the party and the army, by the support of the masses of workers and peasants.

In reality the Bolshevik old guard, those comrades who dreamt of and organized the Great October Revolution, were falling behind. Some fell in combat for the revolution, others were assassinated by the counterrevolution. Others paid the physical tribute of their lives. Some survived Stalin.

The old Bolsheviks, the veteran communists knew how to face their responsibilities, they learned how to solve problems and unknown issues as they arose, they were put at the head of the great feat of building socialism, and were called "old Bolsheviks" not because they were old, but because of their qualities, for their militant and permanent adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for their quality as communist cadres and fighters.

The fight against the opportunist factions within the Party and State were real battles that mobilized the party, all its members, they were a demonstration of the proletarian firmness of Stalin and his comrades in arms; they constituted one victory after another, that guaranteed the life of the Soviet State, the building of socialism and the continuation of the revolution.

Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin were the main chieftains of the counter-revolution, who were confronted and defeated, in theory and practice, with the material and political achievements by the political correctness of the party leadership, headed by Stalin.

The dark legend of the work camps, of the confinement, of psychiatric hospitals, of prisons overcrowded with workers and communists, of the mass executions and mass graves are nothing more than the infamous slander of the reactionaries and imperialism, of the Nazis and social democracy, of the Trotskyists and revisionists, of the opportunists. They cannot be proved by any records much less by the existence of concentration camps and mass graves. They fall under their own weight.

Much has been said about Stalin's incompetence in leading the war. Nothing could be further from the truth. In reality Stalin was not a soldier by training, he did not study in any academy nor could he claim mastery of the military arts, a thorough knowledge of weapons and military strategy and tactics. But it is clear that he was a proletarian revolutionary soldier who learned this art in the very course of the revolutionary civil war in the first years of Soviet power, that he was steeled as such in the difficult years of the building of socialism and that he played an outstanding role in the leadership of the Great Patriotic War, in the resistance against the Nazi invading hordes and in the great political and military offensive that drove the Red Army to take Berlin. No one has claimed that Stalin was a great Military Leader, all the revolutionaries recognize him as the leader of the Soviet proletariat and the peoples, as the political leader of the international proletariat, as a proletarian revolutionary, as a communist.

The accusations that Stalin promoted and used the whole gamut of praise and exaggerations that have been called the "cult of personality" for his prestige continue to be a part of the anti-communist arsenal.

In fact, Stalin daily received praise and recognition from his comrades and friends, from the workers and peasants who expressed them from their heart to express gratitude and recognition. There was also the praise of the opportunists who sought favours from him. The former demonstrations were sincere, a product of the generous spirit of the workers and people, the latter had a dual intention, based on facts; they tried to elevate Stalin above others, above the events and in this way to personally take advantage of this situation.

The cult of personality was in fact a defect of the first experience in the building of socialism. It began with good intentions, but finally it degenerated, it hurt Soviet power and Stalin himself. This is an incontestable fact. But to argue from there that Stalin himself encouraged these campaigns, that he became an egomaniac, a narcissist is a big lie.

Many pages and books can be written about Stalin. In fact there are thousands of publications about his life and work. There are those of his comrades and friends, but also those of his enemies and detractors. In fact the life of Stalin is the life of the first proletarian revolution itself. Stalin did not make the revolution to his measure; the revolution projected Stalin as one of its best sons and leaders.

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Grover Furr: The Continuing Revolution in Stalin-Era Soviet History

LALKAR

INTRODUCTION: At the invitation of the Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist), American academic and author of *Khrushchev lied***,** GROVER FURR, addressed a packed meeting in Lucas Arms, Grays Inn Road, London, on Friday 20 June. In his contribution, lasting about 50 minutes, Grover exposed the lies concerning Soviet History, in particular Stalin, spread by the anti-communist, Trotskyist and revisionist ideologues. We reproduce almost his entire presentation.

The history of the Soviet Union during the time of Joseph Stalin's leadership has been the subject of lies, forgeries, falsifications, and slander since the 1920s. Since the end of the USSR in 1991 a great many primary documents from formerly closed Soviet archives have been published. This evidence permits us to see that the historical account of the "Stalin period" that we have all been taught, and that has "entered the groundwater", become "general knowledge" - that historical account is utterly false, a monstrous anticommunist fabrication.

Today I'm going to report, briefly, on recent research of my own on ten issues in Soviet history of the 1930s - the "Stalin" period. They illustrate how false the prevailing construction of the Stalin period of Soviet history is. Others, especially in Russia, are also working along similar lines.

1. Stalin and Democracy

In 2005 I published a long two-part article titled "Stalin and the Struggle for Democratic Reform." It concerns Stalin's struggle to get the Soviet Communist Party out of the job of running the country in order to turn that job over to the Soviets. Stalin's goal was finally embodied in the 1936 Soviet Constitution which called for equal, universal, secret, and - this is the central issue - contested elections.

Stalin and his supporters encountered a great deal of overt resistance within the Party leadership and Central Committee. Contested elections were scheduled for December, 1937. But resistance to them was so strong within the Central Committee that the provision for contested elections was cancelled at virtually the last minute, on October 11, 1937. They were never to be held.

It appears that Stalin tried to revive this democratic movement again in the '40s but was unsuccessful.

2. Khrushchev Lied

In terms of its practical impact on world history Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" is the most influential speech of the 20th century and possibly of all time. In it Khrushchev painted Stalin as a bloodthirsty tyrant guilty of a reign of terror lasting more than two decades. As a direct result of this speech about one-half of all members of communist parties in the non-communist bloc quit their parties within two years.

After the 22nd Party Congress of 1961, where Khrushchev and his men attacked Stalin with even more venom, many Soviet historians elaborated Khrushchev's lies. These falsehoods were repeated by Cold War anticommunists like Robert Conquest. They also entered "left" discourse not only through the works of Trotskyists and anarchists, but through those of "pro-Moscow" communists who of course had to accept Khrushchev's version.

Khrushchev's lies were amplified during Mikhail Gorbachev's and Boris Eltsin's time by professional Soviet, then Russian, historians. Gorbachev orchestrated an avalanche of anticommunist falsehoods that provided the ideological smokescreen for the return to exploitative practices within the USSR and ultimately for the abandonment of socialist reforms and a return to predatory capitalism.

During 2005-2006 I researched and wrote the book Khrushchev Lied. Its long subtitle reads: "The Evidence That Every 'Revelation' of Stalin's (and Beria's) "Crimes" in Nikita Khrushchev's Infamous 'Secret Speech' to the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on February 25, 1956, is Provably False."

In my book I identify 61 accusations that Khrushchev made against either Stalin or, in a few cases, Beria. I then studied each one of them in the light of evidence available from former Soviet archives. To my own surprise I found that 60 of the 61 accusations are provably, demonstrably false.

The fact that Khrushchev could falsify everything and get away with it for over 50 years suggests that we should look carefully at other supposed "crimes" of Stalin and of the USSR during his time.

3. The Murder of Sergei Kirov.

At about 4:30 p.m. on December 1, 1934 Leonid Vasil'evich Nikolaev, an unemployed Party member, shot Sergei Mironovich Kirov First Secretary of the Bolshevik Party in Leningrad in the back of the skull. Nikolaev then tried to shoot himself in the head but missed and fainted.

At first he seems to have claimed that he had killed Kirov on his own. Before a week was out Nikolaev had admitted that he was part of a conspiracy by a clandestine group of Party members opposed to Joseph Stalin and favoring Grigorii Zinoviev, Leningrad First Secretary before Kirov.

Interrogations of those whom Nikolaev had named, and then of the persons named by those men, led to a number of partial and a few fuller confessions. Three weeks after the murder fourteen men were indicted for conspiracy to kill Kirov. They were tried on December 28-29, convicted, and executed immediately.

The larger significance of the Kirov murder unfolded gradually during the next three years. The threads that bound the Kirov conspirators to Zinoviev and Kamenev led to the three Moscow "Show Trials" of 1936, 1937 and 1938, and to the trial of the military commanders known as the "Tukhachevsky Affair" of 1937.

In his "Secret Speech" Khrushchev cast doubt on the official version of the Kirov assassination.

Khrushchev's men tried hard to find any evidence they could to prove that Stalin had been behind Kirov's murder. Unable to do so, they settled at length for a story that Nikolaev had acted on his own. However, the version that Stalin had caused Kirov to be killed continued to circulate, becoming widely believed both inside and outside the Soviet Union.

Since 1990 the view officially accepted in Russia has been that Nikolaev acted alone, and that Stalin "used" Kirov's murder to frame former or putative rivals, forcing them to admit to crimes they had never committed, and executing them and, ultimately, many thousands more.

My goal has been to solve the Kirov murder case. I review all the evidence as objectively as possible, with appropriate skepticism, and without any preconceived conclusion in mind. The main conclusion of my study is that Nikolaev was not a "lone gunman" at all. The Soviet investigators and prosecution got it right in December 1934. A clandestine Zinovievite conspiratorial organization, of which Nikolaev was a member, killed Kirov.

Implications

Khrushchev aimed to debunk the then-canonical narrative of Soviet history during the 1930s and create a new one out of whole cloth, one in which Stalin was the criminal who had framed and executed a great many innocent Party members. Khrushchev realized that the complete rewriting of Soviet history he wanted necessitated a reversal of verdicts in the Kirov case.

And the reverse is also true. To reinstate the original verdict against the defendants in the December 1934 Kirov trial implies that the defendants in the conspiracy cases that followed it: the Moscow Center trial of January 1935; the Kremlin Affair of 1935; the three Moscow "show" trials of 1936, 1937, and 1938, and the Tukhachevsky Affair trial of June 1937, might well have been guilty. Since the testimony in all three "show" trials and in the Tukhachevsky Affair trial implicated Leon Trotsky, it raises the possibility that Trotsky might have been guilty too. Likewise it suggests that other party leaders tried and executed in non-public trials might be guilty as well.

4. Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands. Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (N.Y: Basic Books, 2010)

Snyder, a full professor of Eastern European history at Yale, has written dozens of articles for leading intellectual journals such as the NY Review of Books. In 2010 he published *Bloodlands*. This book is by far the most successful attempt to date to equate Stalin with Hitler, the Soviet Union with Nazi Germany. It has garnered rave reviews in literally dozens of newspapers and journals; received prizes for historiography; and has been translated into more than 20 languages.

Snyder has little to say about the Nazis. His main target is Stalin, Soviet policy, and communists generally. His broader claim is that the Soviets killed 6 to 9 million innocent civilians while the Nazis were killing about 14 million. Snyder finds parallels between Soviet and Nazi crimes at every turn.

I spent a whole year methodically checking every single footnote, every reference to anything that could be construed as a crime by Stalin, the USSR, or pro-Soviet communists. Snyder's main sources are in Polish and Ukrainian, in hard-to-find books and articles.

I found that every single "crime" Snyder alleges is false - a fabrication. Snyder very often deliberately lies about what his sources say. More often he cites anticommunist Polish and Ukrainian secondary sources that do the lying for him. Once again, not a single accusation holds up.

The significance of this wholesale falsification is important. For one thing, Snyder's book is now widely quoted as an authority. Snyder "said" it in *Bloodlands*, so it is established as a fact.

But the broader significance of Snyder's wholesale lying and falsifying is as follows. Snyder had a team of very anticommunist Polish and Ukrainian nationalist researchers to help him. It is their work which he is, basically, "retailing" to an English-speaking audience. Snyder himself has spent many years researching Eastern Europe between the world wars.

And yet Snyder cannot find a single genuine "crime" by the USSR, Stalin, or even by pro-communist groups! Surely this team of dedicated anticommunists, armed with the support of their post-Soviet states, access to archives, and knowledge of all the Eastern European languages, would have discovered **real** crimes of Stalin or of the USSR - if any existed. This constitutes the best evidence we are ever likely to have that there are no such "crimes".

My book on Snyder's *Bloodlands*, tentatively titled *Blood Lies*, will be published this month.

5. Trotsky in the 1930s

The Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites

Shortly after the Leon Trotsky Archive at Harvard's Houghton Library was opened in January 1980 Trotskyist historian Pierre Broue discovered letters between Leon Sedov and his father Trotsky that proved the existence of a bloc between Trotskyists and other opposition groups within the USSR. Sometime in the middle of 1932 Sedov informed his father as follows:

[The bloc] is organized. In it have entered the Zinovievites, the Sten-Lominadze group and the Trotskyists (former "[capitulators]")

The group of Safar. Tarkhkan. has not formally entered yet - they stand on too extreme a position; they will enter in a very short time. - The declaration of Z. and K. concerning their enormous mistake in '27 was made during negotiations with our people concerning the bloc, immediately before the exile of Z and K.

About the same time American historian Arch Getty was discovering that Trotsky had secretly sent letters to at least Radek, Sokol'nikov, Preobrazhenskii, Kollontai, and Litvinov. The first three had been Trotskyists before publicly recanting their views. Getty did not find the letters - only the certified mail receipts for them. Getty realized this meant that the Trotsky Archive had been "purged". These letters had been removed. Other materials had undoubtedly been purged as well.

The only reason to "purge" the archives would have been to remove materials that would have seemed incriminating - that would have negatively impacted Trotsky's reputation. As an examination of the question of the letter to Radek shows, the letters that we know were removed proved, at the very least, that Trotsky lied during the 1930s by claiming he never maintained contact with oppositionists inside the USSR when, in reality, he was doing so, and by claiming that he would never agree to a secret bloc between his supporters and other oppositionist groups when in fact he had done precisely that.

Evidently Broue found the implications of this fact very disturbing. He never mentioned Getty's discoveries of Trotsky's letters to his supporters and others inside the USSR or the purging of the Trotsky archive, even though Broue cites the same Getty publications (an article and a book) in a very positive manner.

Therefore it had been well established by scholars by the mid-1980s that a Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc did in fact exist and that it was formed in 1932 and that Zinoviev and Kamenev were personally involved. Sedov also foresaw the entry into the group of Safarov, who in any case had a group of his own.

In an interview with the Dutch social-democratic newspaper *Het Volk* (= "The People") during the second half of January 1937, at the time of the Second Mos-cow Trial, Sedov stated, in a slip of the tongue, that "the Trotskyists" had been in contact with the defendants at the First Moscow Trial of August 1936. Sedov specifically named Zinoviev, Kamenev and Smirnov. Concerning Radek and Piatakov Sedov went on to say that "[t]he Trotskyists have had much less contact with them than with the others. To be more exact: no contact at all." That is, Sedov tried to withdraw his "slip" about Radek and Piatakov.

But Sedov did not even try to retract the information that preceded it: that "the Trotskyists" had indeed been in contact with "the others": Smirnov, Zinoviev, and Kamenev. This interview, "slip of the tongue" included, was published in a provincial edition of Het Volk on January 28, 1937. It was noticed by the Communist press, which called attention to Sedov's "slip of the tongue." (Arbeideren, Oslo, February 5, 1937; Abejderbladet, Copenhagen, February 12, 1937.) Thanks to Getty we now know that the Communist press was correct. Sedov's remark really was a "slip of the tongue." We know that Sedov was lying because Getty had found evidence of Trotsky's letter to Radek. Trotsky had indeed been in touch with Radek. Sedov's first remark, about "much less contact", was accurate.

Therefore we have good, non-Soviet evidence, confirmed by the Trot-sky Archive, of the following:

* A "bloc" of Zinovievites, Trotskyites, and others including at least the Sten-Lominadze and, perhaps, the Safarov-Tarkhanov group (with whom they were in any case in touch) and involving Zinoviev and Kamenev themselves, was indeed formed in 1932.

* Trotsky had indeed been in touch with Zinoviev and Kamenev, as well as others, probably through his son and chief representative Sedov.

* Trotsky was indeed in touch with at least Radek and Piatakov.

* Trotsky really did send a letter to Radek, who was in Geneva at the time, in the Spring of 1932, just as Radek testified in the January 1937 Moscow Trial.

* There is no reason to accept Trotskyist historian Pierre Broue's conclusion that this bloc was "ephemeral" and died out shortly after it was formed, because we know the Trotsky Archive was purged at some time, while Broue had no evidence to support his statement.

6. The Evidence that Trotsky Did Conspire with the Germans and Japanese

About five years ago I began to collect primary source evidence on the question of whether Leon Trotsky did indeed conspire with the German and Japanese military, as alleged in the Second and Third Moscow Trials. I began to do this because I had run across such evidence here and there in the process of researching other topics and generally in reading whatever primary sources from the former Soviet archives I could find that bear upon the major events of the 1930s.

I found this project fascinating. All the evidence of this purported conspiracy is circumstantial. We should not expect direct evidence - say, a confidential letter or note from Trotsky or his son Leon Sedov, or direct confirmation of the conspiracy in some German archive or other. I argue, using appropriate references, that no competent conspirator would ever put such material into written form. In my forthcoming book I cite a letter from Professor Charles A. Beard, a noted American historian of the first part of the 20th century, where Beard says that, as an experienced conspirator, Trotsky himself would never put incriminating evidence in written form.

Now, it is quite possible that a successful conspiracy might have left no written evidence of its existence. There is a principle of historical research that states, in one formulation, "Lack of evidence is not evidence of lack." That is, an event - say, a crime or a conspiracy - can indeed take place even though it leaves no evidence behind, and so the lack of evidence that it did take place cannot be interpreted to mean that no such conspiracy ever occurred. But even though this principle of historical research is well known, anticommunist and Trotskyist writers consistently claim that the lack of written evidence of such a conspiracy must mean that no such conspiracy took place.

In fact - as I point out in my article - we do have such evidence from the former Soviet archives. By this I mean evidence in addition to the testimony at the Moscow Trials. There's no reason to doubt this testimony in general terms, but we do have other

evidence that corroborates it. In addition we have corroboratory evidence from other, non-Soviet sources that confirms the existence of the Military Conspiracy, with which Trotsky was allegedly involved.

In 2010 I published my article in the online journal *Cultural Logic* (the 2009 issue). There's a lot of evidence, and I spend even more space examining it. Now, the existence of this evidence must be accounted for in some way. Naturally, every individual piece of this evidence can be accounted for in multiple ways, by several different hypotheses. But there are only two hypotheses that can account for all of this evidence:

1. Trotsky did indeed conspire with the Germans and Japanese.

2. All of this evidence was fabricated, faked by Stalin, or by NKVD leaders Yagoda and Yezhov, or both.

This second hypothesis also requires evidence - evidence that this fakery or forgery took place, in different places and at different times within the USSR, and in documents which were never published and never intended to be published.

I recommend this article to you all because, at this point, it is the only serious attempt to collect and study the evidence that Trotsky conspired with Germany and Japan. It is an example of the kind of "detective work" with primary sources that makes historical research, when done diligently, so fascinating.

We know Trotsky lied about a huge number of matters during the 1930s. If he had conspired with the German and/or Japanese, he would certainly have denied that as well. Likewise, if he did not conspire with the Germans and/or Japanese, Trotsky would also deny this charge. So Trotsky's denials are not evidence. Yet that is the only "evidence" there has ever been! Now, we have more.

Before moving on to the next point I'd like to mention that in my forthcoming book on Trotsky in the 1930s I devote two chapters to the Dewey Commission. As you know this was a group set up supposedly to study the charges against Trotsky that had been made during the First and Second Moscow Trials of August 1936 and January 1937. Eventually the Dewey Commission published two fat volumes, one of the hearings themselves titled *The Case of Leon TrotskyÂ* and the second, of the commission's study of the evidence and their conclusions, titled *Not Guilty!*

I discovered that neither of these works has been re-examined in the light of the evidence now available from the Trotsky archive at Harvard and from the former Soviet archives. Though there have been ten full-scale biographies of Trotsky published since the end of the Soviet Union in 1991, not a single one of them has undertaken to re-examine the Dewey Commission. In addition, I discovered a lot of other problems with the Dewey Commission - problems that should have caught the attention of any careful reader long ago.

I will go into all of this in my book on Trotsky in the 1930s, to be published in 2015.

7. The Moscow Trials

The newly-available evidence confirms the following conclusions:

* The defendants at the Moscow Trials of August 1936, January 1937, and March 1938, were guilty of at least those crimes to which they confessed. A "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" did indeed exist. It planned to assassinate Stalin, Kaganovich, Molotov, and others in a coup d'Etat , what they called a "palace coup.". The bloc did assassinate Kirov.

All anticommunist scholars take the position that the testimony in the three Moscow Trials was fabricated by the NKVD in some way. But they fail to give any evidence that this is so, nor do they make any kind of argument to justify these very considerable omissions.

In reality, no one has ever come close to proving that any of the Moscow Trials were faked. However, in the highly politicized and biased field of Soviet history the position that the Moscow Trials were all fabrications and all the defendants "framed" is not merely the "mainstream" position - it is the only position that is tolerated. Anyone who suggests that the Moscow Trials may not have been fabrications faces ridicule or worse. So there is a great deal of professional pressure to regard the trials as fabrications and little incentive to do any serious research on them.

Any objective investigation must always confront the question of verification. Therefore in this chapter we will discuss two questions. First: What is the Kirov testimony in the first Moscow Trial? Second: To what extent can we confirm or disconfirm the testimony in the first Moscow Trial?

The first public Moscow Trial of August 19-24, 1936 was preceded by a great deal of investigation. Only a very small amount of the documentation this investigation produced - confessions, statements, and some physical evidence as well - has ever been made public. Most of it by far is still top-secret in Russia today. No researcher has access to anything like the full extent of it. Nor, of course, do we.

Like any researcher or investigator, we are faced with the task of evaluating all this evidence according to objective criteria. Anticommunist researchers simply assume that there was no merit to the charges and that Stalin was out to destroy the "former" oppositionists. In reality there is no evidence whatsoever that Stalin had a "goal" of "crushing" or "destroying" former oppositionists. There never has been any such evidence. On the contrary: there is good evidence that prior to the Kirov murder Stalin was trying to conciliate former oppositionists - or people whom he believed were former oppositionists, whose opposition he believed was in the past, as they promised it was.

Questions of Methodology

How can these materials be assessed as to their truthfulness? What, in fact, can we reasonably expect to learn from them? This problem confronts all anticommunist scholars too, though they do not directly address it. They have some interrogations, trial transcripts, and investigative materials, so we too have whatever of these materials they have chosen to disclose to us. In addition, we have all the evidence that, for whatever reasons, they omit.

A full examination of the Moscow Trials is beyond the scope of this presentation. But I do wish to emphasize the following point: There is no evidence that any of the defendants in these trials was framed, falsely convicted, innocent. Not one shred of evidence has ever been produced that the defendants in the three Moscow Trials were anything but guilty of those charges to which they confessed. No one has ever produced any evidence that the defendants were forced to testify in some manner dictated by the prosecution or NKVD. None of the "rehabilitation" documents and reports produced during Khrushchev's and especially during Gorbachev's era contains any evidence that the defendants were innocent. All the conclusions of all these rehabilitation reports are assertions only.

There is good evidence that some of the defendants at least did not tell "the whole truth" and that both Yagoda and other defendants, as well as Yezhov, distorted and concealed some matters at the trials. But none of this deception tends to exculpate any of the trial defendants either. It simply adds another dimension to their guilt, and to the picture of the conspiracies that we already have. From what we know, the defendants' testimony reflects what they wanted to say.

A central problem in evaluating the Moscow Trials testimony is the question of independent corroboration of statements made at the trial through evidence that could not have been arranged, planted, or otherwise created by the prosecution. Of course the lack of independent corroboration would not mean that the trial testimony and confessions were faked by the prosecution. In the case of a skillful conspiracy there might be no independent evidence at all. It would just mean that we would have no way of comparing this testimony with independent evidence. Even if we had no independent corroboration, we could evaluate the internal consistency of the statements made by different defendants at different times.

Fortunately some evidence external to the Moscow Trials and even to the USSR itself does exist. All of this external evidence tends to corroborate the confessions of the accused.

Was the Trial Testimony Falsified?

All anticommunist scholars "beg the question." They assume that the trial testimony was falsified in some way they do not specify. In this they follow the example of ideologically anticommunist researchers. It is easy to find historians of Soviet history who make this assumption. But it is impossible to find one who proves it, or indeed has any evidence for it at all. There has never been any evidence that the testimony at the Moscow Trials was falsified, the defendants forced to mouth confessions composed or dictated by others.

But though there is no evidence that the testimony in this trial was falsified, there is a lot of evidence of the contrary: that it was genuine. Here are a few examples of corroboration between testimony at the January 1937 trial and other established facts:

* Radek and others testify that they disagreed with the assassination of individuals. This corresponds to what Yagoda testified independently, as we will see in the chapter devoted to him.

* Radek's claim that he had received a letter from Trotsky in the spring of 1932 is confirmed by a certified mail receipt found by Getty in the Harvard Trotsky archive.

* Radek testified that Bukharin had told him he (Bukharin) had "taken the path of terrorism." We know from the memoirs of Jules Humbert-Droz, published in Switzerland in 1971, that Bukharin had decided to assassinate Stalin long before this.

* Sokolnikov testified that the "united centre" of Zinovievites and Trotskyites had decided on planning terrorist acts against Stalin and Kirov "as early as the autumn of 1932." This corresponds with the testimony of Valentin Astrov, one of Bukharin's followers, one of whose confessions has been published. Astrov had the chance to recant this after the fall of the USSR but explicitly refused to do so. Astrov also insisted that the NKVD investigators had treated him with respect and used no compulsion against him.

* Muralov stated that Ivan Smirnov had told him about his meeting abroad with Sedov. In his*Livre Rouge* Sedov admitted that he had met with Smirnov, though he claimed the meeting was entirely innocent.

* Muralov stated that Shestov had brought a letter from Sedov in 1932 with a secret message written with invisible ink. We know that Sedov used antipirin to write secret messages since at least one such letter of Sedov's survives in the Harvard Trotsky archive. In it he recommends that his father Trotsky write him back with invisible ink as well.

* Radek stated that it was he who had recommended to Trotsky that Vitovt Putna, a military commander loyal to Trotsky, be the person to negotiate with the Germans and Japanese on Trotsky's behalf. This corresponds with Putna's later confessions as recorded by Marshal Budienniy.

Most of this evidence might be explained as faked - if there were any evidence that the confessions, and the alleged plots, had been scripted by the NKVD. But there is no evidence of any such conspiracy to fabricate the trials, while we do have evidence that they were not scripted.

In light of these facts it is impermissible for any competent and objective researcher to simply dismiss without any consideration the very significant evidence given in the trial transcript.

8. The "Yezhovshchina", or "Great Terror" of Summer 1937- Fall 1938

Since my two-part essay "Stalin and the Struggle for Democratic Reform" was written in 2004-5, a great deal more evidence has been published concerning the Opposition, the Moscow Trials of 1936, 1937, and 1938, the Military Purges or "Tukhachevsky Affair", and the subsequent "Yezhovshchina", often called "the Great Terror" after the title of the extremely dishonest book by Robert Conquest first published in 1968.

The newly-available evidence confirms the following conclusions:

* The defendants at the Moscow Trials of August 1936, January 1937, and March 1938, were guilty of at least those crimes to which they confessed. A "bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" did indeed exist. It planned to assassinate Stalin, Kaganovich, Molotov, and others in a coup d'etat , what they called a "palace coup". The bloc did assassinate Kirov.

* Both Rights and Trotskyites were conspiring with the Germans and Japanese, as were the Military conspirators. If the "palace coup" did not work they hoped to come to power by showing loyalty to Germany or Japan in the event of an invasion.

* Trotsky too was directly conspiring with the Germans and Japanese, as were a number of his supporters.

* Nikolai Yezhov, head of the NKVD from 1936 to late 1938, was also conspiring with the Germans.

Yezhov

We now have much more evidence about the role of NKVD chief Nikolai Yezhov than we had in 2005. Yezhov, head of the NKVD (People's Commissar for Internal Affairs), had his own conspiracy against the Soviet government and Party leadership. Yezhov had also been recruited by German intelligence.

Like the Rights and Trotskyites, Yezhov and his top NKVD men were counting on an invasion by Germany, Japan, or other major capitalist country. They tortured a great many innocent people into confessing to capital crimes so they would be shot. They executed a great many more on falsified grounds or no grounds at all.

Yezhov hoped that this mass murder of innocent people would turn large parts of the Soviet population against the government. That would create the basis for internal rebellions against the Soviet government when Germany or Japan attacked.

Yezhov lied to Stalin, the Party and government leaders about all this. The truly horrific mass executions of 1937-1938 of almost 680,000 people were in large part unjustifiable executions of innocent people carried out deliberately by Yezhov and his top men in order to sow discontent among the Soviet population.

As early as October 1937 Stalin and the Party leadership began to suspect as that some of the repression was done illegally. From early in 1938, when Pavel Postyshev was sharply criticized, then removed from the Central Committee, then expelled from the Party, tried and executed for mass unjustified repression, these suspicions grew.

When Lavrentii Beria was appointed as Yezhov's second-in-command Yezhov and his men understood that Stalin and the Party leadership no longer trusted them. They made one last plot to assassinate Stalin at the November 7, 1938 celebration of the 21st anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. But Yezhov's men were arrested in time.

Yezhov was persuaded to resign. An intensive investigation was begun and a huge number of NKVD abuses were uncovered. A great many cases of those tried or punished under Yezhov were reviewed. Over 100,000 people were released from prison and camps. Many NKVD men were arrested, confessed to torturing innocent people, tried and executed. Many more NKVD men were sentenced to prison or dismissed.

Under Beria the number of executions in 1939 and 1940 dropped to less than 1% of the number under Yezhov in 1937 and 1938, and many of those executed were NKVD men, including Yezhov himself, who were found guilty of massive unjustified repression and executions of innocent people.

Some of the most dramatic evidence published since 2005 are confessions of Yezhov and Mikhail Frinovsky, Yezhov's second-in-command. I have put some of these on the Internet in both the original Russian and in English translation. We also have a great many more confessions and interrogations, mostly partial, of Yezhov, in which he makes many more confessions. These were published in 2007 in a semi-official account by Aleksei Pavliukov.

Anticommunist Scholars Hide the Truth

All "mainstream" - that is, anticommunist - and Trotskyist researchers falsely claim that there were no conspiracies. According to them, all the Moscow Trial defendants, all the military defendants, and all those tried and sentenced for espionage, conspiracy, sabotage, and other crimes, were innocent victims. Some claim that Stalin had planned to kill all these people because they might constitute a "Fifth Column" if the USSR were attacked. Other anticommunists prefer the explanation that Stalin just tried to terrorise the population into obedience.

This is an ideological, anticommunist stance masquerading as an historical conclusion. It is not based upon the historical evidence and is inconsistent with that evidence. Anticommunist historians ignore the primary source evidence available. They even ignore evidence in collections of documents that they themselves cite in their own works.

Why do the anticommunist "scholars", both in Russia and the West, ignore all this evidence? Why do they continue to promote the false notions that no conspiracies existed and that Stalin, not Yezhov, decided to execute hundreds of thousands of innocent people? The only possible explanation is that they do this for ideological reasons alone. The truth, as established by an examination of the primary source evidence, would make Stalin and the Bolsheviks "look good" to most people.

Bukharin, Not Stalin, To Blame for the Massive Repressions

Nikolai Bukharin, leading name among the Rightists and one of its leaders, knew about the "Yezhovshchina" as it was happening, and praised it in a letter to Stalin that he wrote from prison.

Bukharin knew that Yezhov was a member of the Rightist conspiracy, as he himself was. No doubt that is why he welcomed Yezhov's appointment as head of the NKVD -- a view recorded by his widow in her memoirs.

In his first confession, in his now-famous letter to Stalin of December 10, 1937, and at his trial in March 1938 Bukharin claimed he had completely "disarmed" and had told everything he knew. But now we can prove that this was a lie. Bukharin knew that Yezhov was a leading member of the Rightist conspiracy -- but did not inform on him. According to Mikhail Frinovsky, Yezhov's right-hand man, Yezhov probably promised to see that he would not be executed if he did not mention his own, Yezhov's, participation (see Frinovsky's confession of April 11, 1939).

If Bukharin had told the truth -- if he had, in fact, informed on Yezhov -- Yezhov's mass murders could have been stopped in their tracks. The lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent people could have been saved.

But Bukharin remained true to his fellow conspirators. He went to execution -- an execution he swore he deserved "ten times over" - without revealing Yezhov's participation in the conspiracy.

This point cannot be stressed too much: the blood of the hundreds of thousands of innocent persons slaughtered by Yezhov and his men during 1937-1938, is on Bukharin's hands.

Objectivity and Evidence

I agree with historian Geoffrey Roberts when he says:

In the last 15 years or so an enormous amount of new material on Stalin â€¦ has become available from Russian archives. I should make clear that as a historian I have a strong orientation to telling the truth about the past, no matter how uncomfortable or unpalatable the conclusions may be. â€¦ I don't think there is a dilemma: you just tell the truth as you see it.

("Stalin's Wars", Frontpagemag.com February 12, 2007. At http://hnn.us/roundup/entries/35305.html)

The conclusions I have reached about the "Yezhovshchina" will be unacceptable to ideologically-motivated people. I have not reached these conclusions out of any desire to "apologize" for the policies of Stalin or the Soviet government. I believe these to be the only objective conclusions possible based on the available evidence.

9. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 1939

At a conference some years back a liberal anticommunist threw the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact - often called by anticommunists the "Hitler-Stalin Pact" - in my face. "How could I defend it!" he virtually shouted at me!

I realized I did not know nearly as much about it as I should. So I spent the summer of 2009 researching it. The result is a monograph-sized article titled "Did the Soviet Union Invade Poland in September 1939? (The answer: No, it did not.)." You can read it, with 17 web pages of evidence and documentation, on my Home Page.

I learned a lot! For one thing, I learned that the Pact was not an "alliance." I learned that the Soviet Union did not "invade" Poland in September, 1939, and that all the Allies agreed at that time that it did not.

I learned that the USSR was the only country that acted properly in the pre-war period. That is the only conclusion I could honestly reach.

I discuss this question at length in *Blood Lies*, my forthcoming book on Timothy Snyder's*Bloodlands*. It will be published in less than two weeks.

10. The Katyn Massacre

In April 1943 Nazi German authorities claimed that they had discovered thousands of bodies of Polish officers shot by Soviet officials in 1940 near the Katyn forest near Smolensk (in Western Russia).

The Nazi propaganda machine organized a huge campaign around this alleged discovery. After the Soviet victory at Stalingrad in February 1943 it was obvious to everyone that, unless something happened to split the Allies, Germany would inevitably lose the war. The Nazis' obvious aim was to drive a wedge between the western Allies and the USSR.

The Soviet government, headed by Joseph Stalin, vigorously denied the German charge. When the Polish government-in-exile, always ferociously anticommunist and anti-Russian, collaborated with the Nazi propaganda effort, the Soviet government broke diplomatic relations with it.

During the Cold War the Western capitalist countries supported the Nazi version now promoted by the anticommunist Poles. The Soviet Union and its allies continued to blame the Germans until in 1990 - 1992 Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Eltsin stated that the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin had indeed shot the Poles.

At the beginning of 2013 I learned about archaeological findings at a German mass murder site in Ukraine. As I've been following the dispute over the Katyn Massacre for many years I soon recognized the implications of these findings. They provide material evidence that the Soviet Union could not have shot the 14,800, or 22,000, or whatever number of Polish officers who were POWs in 1940.

The discoveries in the mass graves at Volodymyr-Volyns'kiy constitute a lethal blow to the "official" version of the Katyn Massacre. This is something that should interest all of us. Katyn has been the most famous crime alleged against Stalin and the Soviet government. It has hitherto also been the crime most firmly grounded in documentary evidence. For example, it is unlike the alleged "Holodomor," the supposedly deliberate starvation by Stalin of millions of Ukrainians in the famine of 1932-1933, for which no evidence has ever been found.

Katyn has been the best proven "crime of Stalinism." And it's a lie.

Conclusion

In this talk I have only touched on a few of the important events of Soviet history of the 1930s. In conclusion I would like to say something about objectivity and the attempt to discover the truth.

Almost all books and articles published today about Soviet history of the Stalin period are framed, and therefore controlled, by what I call the "anti-Stalin paradigm." In Western academic discussion it is obligatory - required - that a researcher come to conclusions that confirm the anticommunist portrayal of Stalin as a vicious, evil killer and dictator, and the Soviet Union as a site of mass murder and cruelty. If you are unwilling to put your research within this biased framework you simply cannot have an academic career at all.

I have been told by two fine researchers in Soviet history - researchers who are not leftists but who strive to be objective - that no book that is not hostile to Stalin can be published by an academic publisher. That certainly is true in the West, and I believe it to be true in Russia as well.

Let me put this another way: If you were in the field of Soviet history - if you taught Soviet history in a history department anywhere in the West, you could not do the research I do. If you did, you could not be published in the standard journals, or by mainstream academic publishers, and you would soon not be in the field of Soviet history anymore, because you wouldn't have a job!

That is why my position is unusual. I teach in an English Department. My academic livelihood does not depend in any way on my research into Soviet history.

This is what I have to offer. And a lot of people around the world think it is important. Not just people on the Left, such as you are. The anticommunists also think it's important. And they don't like it.

A lot of people on the Right do not want the truth about the history of the communist movement in the USSR, during the Stalin years, to come to light. They want to continue to demonize it, to compare it to Hitler and fascism, and to lie about it. And that's what they do - not only "passively", through their "point of view", or bias, but actively, by deliberately falsifying the evidence, sources, and history.

Marx's favorite slogan was "De omnibus dubitandum" - Question Everything, and your preconceived ideas and biases above all others. If you want to learn the truth, that's what you must do.

Moreover, it is what every bourgeois detective in every detective story knows. As Sherlock Holmes used to say: Keep your mind free of precipitate conclusions. Get the facts before you form your hypotheses. Be ready to abandon an hypothesis that does not explain the established facts.

If you don't do this - if you don't try to discover the truth from the outset - then you are not going to stumble upon it by accident along the way. And what you will find will not be the truth.

This is what I try hard to do. None of the demonizers of Stalin and the Soviet Union, the anticommunist "experts" on the history of the communist movement, make any attempt to be objective. They do not discover the truth, then, because they don't want to do so. They want to write "propaganda with footnotes." And that's what their works are.

In my presentations in the United States I quote a line from a popular and satirical singer named "Weird Al Yankovich." He has a song titled "Everything You Know Is Wrong." And that is the situation with Soviet history today. Everything we have been taught, at least since Khrushchev's day about Soviet history of the Stalin period - is wrong, based on anticommunist lies.

But where we now have evidence, chiefly from former Soviet archives though also from the Trotsky Archive at Harvard University, we inevitably - always, in every single specific instance - find that the anticommunists from Leon Trotsky to Khrushchev to Gorbachev, and all the anticommunist "scholars" to the present day - are wrong, and in most cases they are deliberately lying.

In my view, the importance of all this new evidence and research lies mainly in proving the utter dishonesty of the "mainstream" accounts of Soviet history - accounts that pass for the "truth" not only among Cold War anticommunists, not only among Trotskyists, but are also the "mainstream" view among 'Marxists' and 'communists'.

We Marxists ought to be relieved! All around the world the horror stories about Stalin and the Stalin period are employed to discredit Marxism, socialism, and communism. Now we can see: these horror stories are lies.

The Bolsheviks were blazing an unmarked trail, "going where no man had gone before."

But we, who come after them, must carefully study what they did. We will never discover what the Bolsheviks did that was right, correct, admirable, worthy of imitation - unless we know what really did happen. A new and better communist movement can only be built upon a sound foundation of historical truth, not upon the sand of anticommunist lies. I am glad to be playing a small part in the effort to uncover this true history.

My next book, planned for publication next year, in 2015, will be on Leon Trotsky's writings in the 1930s, especially from December 1934 until his death in 1940. Evidence from Trotsky's own archives, when put together with evidence from former Soviet archives, now permits us to see that Trotsky deliberately lied about the Soviet Union and Stalin, about the Kirov murder, and the Moscow Trials, throughout this period. He did this to preserve his own conspiracy. Naturally, one must lie if one is to be a conspirator. But Trotsky's lies have been believed first by his own followers and then, after Khrushchev's Secret Speech, by a great many persons. So I think this study will be of broad interest.

The questions one asks inevitably reflect and expose one's own political concerns, and mine are no exception. I believe that the history of the Bolshevik Party during Stalin's years -- a history obfuscated by anti-communist lies and as yet to be written -- has a lot to teach future generations. Political activists who look to the past for guidance, and politically-conscious scholars who believe their greatest contributions towards a better world can be made through study of such struggles in the past, have a great deal to learn from the legacy of the Soviet Union. Thank you for listening to me. I am ready to answer your questions as best I can, and to receive your criticisms with humility.

Source: Two Issues of the LALKAR: July/August 2014 and September/October 2014

Mother's memoir reveals sensitive Stalin

The Telegraph

An article in The Telegraph (www.telegraph.co.uk) appeared on May 07, 2007. We have reproduced it after some necessary editing for our readers – Editor.

Joseph Stalin was a "sensitive child" with a love of flowers, his mother's memoirs have revealed.

Stalin was born in Georgia in 1879, the only child of a cobbler, Beso Djugashvili and his wife, Keke. In her memoirs, released from a secret Soviet archive, she detailed how a series of illnesses and accidents left "Soso" - her nickname for Joseph - partially crippled, and how he coped with a violent alcoholic father.

"My Soso was a very sensitive child," said Keke. "As soon as he heard the sound of his father singing balaam-balaam from the street, he'd immediately run to me asking if he could go to our neighbours' until his father fell asleep."

Keke recounted how she used her child's love of flowers to encourage him to walk. Holding out a camomile, she would entice him to move towards her.

She also wrote about her son's struggle to win a scholarship to the seminary of the Georgian capital, Tiflis, now Tbilisi, to become a student priest.

On the train there, where his now estranged father was working, she recounted how her teenage son suddenly began to cry. "Mummy," he said, "what if, when we arrive in the city, father finds me and forces me to become a shoemaker? I want to study. I'd rather kill myself than become a cobbler."

"I kissed him and wiped away his tears," she recalled, adding: "Nobody will stop you studying, nobody is going to take you away from me."

Keke's memoirs were released by the Georgian president, Mikhail Saakashvili at the request of Simon Sebag Montefiore, whose new book, Young Stalin, is published this month.

Stalin later rebelled against his studies, however, and declared himself a revolutionary seeking the end of Tsarist Russia. Following his rise he installed Keke in a Tsarist palace in the Caucasus, but she occupied only one tiny room and died in 1937.

Interview of Jacob Jugashvili, the Grandson of Stalin

Jacob Jugashvili, artist-activist from Georgia is the son of Yevgeni Jugashvili, military historian and retired colonel of the Soviet Army and the great grandson of Ioseb Jugashvili, one of the most influencial persons in world history, popularly known as Joseph Stalin. Jacob's father has gained note as a defender of his Stalin's reputation, and in the 1999 elections of the Russian State Duma, he was one of the faces of the Stalin Bloc — For the USSR, a league of Communist parties. Jacob studied painting at Tbilisi State Academy of Fine Arts and Glasgow School of Art. Jacob has showed at various London venues: the Boundary Gallery, Lamont Gallery, Royal College of Art, London Art Fair, Georgia 2000 exhibition at Cork streets Gallery 27. His works were also shown at Batumi Art Museum (Batumi, Georgia). Today his artistic life is goes in parallel with his political life and activism as part of a public movement called IGPR (Iniciativnaia Gruppa Po Provedeniu Referenduma) former Army of the Will of the People. Jugashvili lives in Georgia and Russia with his wife and daughter.

Jacob Jugashvili shares his views with us here.

- **Warm welcome. Thank you for the interview.**

Thank You

- **As a person and as an artist, have you ever felt discriminated against as Stalin's great grandson?**

As far as I understand the word "discrimination" comes from the Latin word which means "denial or infringement of the rights." Discrimination in relation to me can be neglected when it comes to discrimination which takes place in relation to the peoples of the former USSR. Such level of discrimination which some have called genocide. My family and I have faced many, but we shall not waste time on them.

- **On Joseph Stalin, your great grandfather, one of the four most important men of modern socialism and the champion of the war against Fascism and Nazism.**

Being a theorist of socialism is not the same thing as to be its builder. Lenin and Stalin were real leaders and builders of a new type of economy where Marx and Engels contributed theoretically towards to the construction of socialism. That was what Stalin said during a discussion of a new textbook of political economy in 1948: "... For example, according to the conformity of production means to the production relations these schools chatter. Marx and Engels said all these in the abstract, in the abstract, only in theory. We are standing at the helm, in our economy where everything is clear, where we can see everything, speak easier, more accessible, more understandable… "

Soviet victory over fascism was also the result of the victory of the type of organization of the economy and society, not theory. Yes, I agree that theory is needed, but only as an assistant in solving specific problems faced by the manager, the head. If the theory does not carry out this function it is necessary to get rid of such theory. The main objective of Stalin as the head of the State was to serve the people and not the theory. Most of the people think that serving the theory and serving the people is the same thing. It is incorrect.

- **About the well preached stories and images of a 'bad Stalin'? Dr. Grover Furr's researches about Stalin's struggles for democratic reforms. It says about the distorted Russian archives.**

The major components on which the anti-Stalin propaganda is built is a lie which says Stalin was a dictator. In the USSR there was never a one-man dictatorship as in the West. In the Soviet Union the dictatorship was of the communist party apparatus - The Central Committee. 70 or more people constituted that Central committee. It was that collective body a dictator, not Stalin. Communism and dictatorship are incompatible, because communist society is a society for all its members and the communist state is for all the people of that society, not just for any class or stratum. The dictatorship was necessary for pest control, and the Communists, having established their dictatorship, got rid of the parasites of that society. In the first 30 years a new generation was brought up in a very different historical environment in the Soviet Union. The dictatorship of the party began to impede the development of the country. Stalin as a true communist knew it and did everything which he could to make the country truly communist - to remove the power centres and to give this power to the people as represented by the Soviet Union and its executive bodies. In other words, Stalin tried to bring the state system of the USSR in full compliance with the Constitution of the USSR. Let me remind you that at that time in the Constitution of the USSR there was no such public authority as the Communist Party. Grover Furr is perhaps the only English-speaking researcher who understands the nature of the events of those years and Stalin's role in these events.

[http://jugashvili.com/press/Stalin_and_struggle_for_democratic_reforms_I.html andhttp://jugashvili.com/press/Stalin_and_struggle_for_democratic_reforms_II.html]

- **About the famous Legend of Stalin's refusal of an offer of exchange of his captured son, your grandfather, Yakov by the Germans?**

Yakov's imprisonment was a Nazi propaganda. Yakov was not captured; he was killed during battle near Vitebsk in July 1941. Germans pretended as if they had Yakov captured and wanted to persuade the world and Stalin that Yakov was alive and kept in prison. When Stalin received an offer from Nazis (via Bernadotte- the head of Red Cross) he turned it down. According to the legends he said: I don't exchange soldiers for generals. (Stalin said "You have in your hands not only my son Yakov but millions of my sons. Either you free them all or my son will share their fate". Thus goes another legend about the Man of Steel)

- **How do present day Russia, the old and the new generation remember Comrade Joseph Stalin?**

I think it depends on the awareness of the people. Some people, even though they lived in the Stalin era, do not understand the nature of the events of those years. But in spite of this, almost all whom I have ever met or listen to recalls that under Stalin, the people were masters of their land. Young people, especially in Russia, are now getting more and more interested in the personality of Stalin and his deeds. This is good and gives us hope that all is not lost and we have a future.

- **As an artist, how do you view the Government attitude towards art and criticism in erstwhile USSR, which many call a Stalinist attitude?**

Two aspects must be taken into consideration. Firstly, at a time when there were no sufficient technical means like we have today, fine art was used as a tool for propaganda. There is no need for this today. Secondly, the essence of those criticisms was in fact the criticism of the VALUES propagated by Soviet state by means of fine art inclusively. I share those values and think they are worth to be called VALUES.

One of the main VALUES propagated by the soviet state was the idea of the state which is organized according to FAMILY values. One of the main things about family is that every member of the family has a right for food. Soviet State was the first and last in the history of mankind which put it in practice.

- **"My Russia is a poor, long, suffering country, mercilessly torn to pieces by greedy, dishonest, unbelieving people. My Russia - it is a great artery, from which the "chosen" few are draining away its wealth," This was what last year's Russian beauty pageant Natalia Pereverzeva, said about Russia under Putin. How is Russia under Putin?**

Sorry, but Natalya said only one reason - Putin. It is a mistake. She had forgotten 450 more reasons. The 450 deputies of the State Duma. If in a country, things are going bad, that is the fault of government - legislative and executive. Today in Russia, state executives (president and members) are not liable for the results of their rule before who pays them a salary, and allows them to control the fortune gained by the previous generations. I mean the people of Russia.

- **Insurrections against injustice, government policies are seen all over the world more than ever. You are associated with a movement named 'Army of the Will of the People'. What is your political stand?**

Life is arranged unfair. And injustice comes from the government. Power is unfair because it has the opportunity to be unfair. How to achieve justice without revolutionary violence? It's simple, but you need to look at the root of the injustice of power. Why do the members of government and their cronies in power do anything they wish? Because they are unaccountable for the results of their rule – they are not punished for the harm caused to the people.

A driver is punished for the accidents he cause, but when an authority do so, he is let unpunished. Is that fair? We need a law according to which in all elections each voter gets a chance to challenge and alter the power structure. A verdict in three lines: "Worthy of encouragement", "worthy of punishment" and "without consequences." If a majority of voters decide to release old structure of power without consequences, the power will leave its powers without consequences for themselves. If a majority of voters decide to encourage power, the President or a member of the Federal Assembly of Russia will be the hero. And if the voters decide "worthy of punishment", the President or the member of the Federal Assembly should be punished, should be sent to jail. Through the verdict, voters will answer a simple question: did their life during board of this power improved, worsened or didn't change. Any voter can answer this question, regardless of his education or cultural background. We, citizens, who submit

to the power, will judge the authorities for the results of that submission. It is justice! 'Army of the Will of the people' is a movement which stands for this cause. You can find more about our manifesto here. http://www.igpr.ru/eng

- **A long interval spent in IT industry before you came back to art. How was the experience?**

Probably it may strike strange, but thanks to my days in the management of a small company, my understanding of the word "creativity" became much deeper. The matter is that creativity is an ability to accept non-standard, sometimes, the most unexpected decisions for achievement of goals.

- **Do you think that paintings/ art should be political?**

By means of modern technology it is easy to manufacture images, paintings, art of any complexity and sizes, and use it for propaganda purposes, be political ones or other. Therefore painting must not "compete" with the technologies. The value of painting today consists in the fact that it is made by man, and man, as is known, characteristically make mistakes. Specifically, the skill of man, artist, to manage his errors in the process of his work, finding for this the most unexpected solutions which is not capable by a computer or technology, makes painting interesting and therefore, valuable. In the painting it is the most important thing. The more he fights with his errors and weaknesses, the more interesting and creative his work would become and stronger the effect of his work shall be on the world, on the imagination of the people. And this inevitably would lead to the generation of new ideas and thus influence and change people.

- **India as a nation and its communist movements has always maintained a good relation with USSR and Russia. Do you have something to say to the people of Kerala, where a communist government came into power through election ballot for the second time in history, where sentiments still exists for Left politics?**

Hope the results of Left holding the power were good. Did it change the lives of most of the people? Remember that the people who killed Stalin and then destroyed the USSR also called themselves communists, leftists and other beautiful words. I hope that you have reasons to be confident that the Left would serve them good.

- **Thank you for the time you spend for us. Salutes to you, your family and friends**.

Thank You.

Source: "Power is unfair" (2013) at http://malayalanatu.com/index.php/component/k2/item/327-power-is-unfair

Socialism and Islam- FAQs

Dr. Taimur Rahman

Can Muslims be socialists?
Yes. Socialism is a mode of production (i.e. economic system) where the means of production (i.e. economic resources) are owned collectively by society. It is the opposite of capitalism where economic resources are controlled by a capitalist elite. From this definitions we understand that one can belong to any religion or not belong to any religion and be a capitalist or a socialist.

Don't socialists ban religion?
Not at all. The policy of all socialists is to uphold the complete freedom of religious practice and nonpractice. The state will have nothing to do with religion. It will not stop anyone from religion, it will also not promote any one religion over the other. That is what we mean by a secular state.

But isn't socialism the same as atheism?
Again the answer is no. Socialism is only the belief that economic resources should be controlled by the people. Hence, socialists can be atheists and atheists can be socialists. Just like Muslims can be socialists and socialists can be Muslims.

Socialism is based on equality, Islam is also based on equality. Then why do I need socialism?
Socialism ADDS to our scientific knowledge about history and society. And that is why we need it. It teaches us that capitalist profit is based on the exploration of the working class (theory of surplusvalue). It teaches us that the material conditions of societies determines their ideological and political views (historical materialism). It teaches us the laws of change and movement (dialectics). It teaches us the the laws of capitalist development (falling rate of profit, concentration of capital, disproportionality). These world historic discoveries make socialism relevant to us today as a science.

But why do socialists keep criticising Islamic fundamentalists and mullahs?
Islamic fundamentalists are hired ideological and political mercenaries of various reactionary classes. They support oppressive and exploitative class systems. They were hired by imperialists during the cold war. They were hired by capitalists against the workers movement. They were hired by feudal lords against peasant rights. Their own agenda is to take society back to medieval society and all its barbarity, oppression, and exploitation. Hence, we fight against them so that our society can move forward.

But I had a friend who was a socialist and he kept criticising religion.
Good for you. I also had a friend who was a capitalist and he kept criticising religion. It only proves the point above that there are atheists and theists amongst those who support capitalism and also amongst those who support socialism. One only becomes a socialist if one supports the view that resources should be controlled by the people.

But aren't you against religion?
We are great admirers, lovers, followers of all the great Prophets who all stood for the poor and oppressed. Our criticism is only for these mercenaries of reaction, and their doctrines, who use religion as a cloak to justify exploitation and oppression in the world today.

This sounds too good to be true.
I know. That's why capitalists and imperialists spend trillions of dollars trying to convince you to hate socialism and follow capitalism. They don't want you to know that socialism can liberate all of humanity.

Source: A 'Note' posted by Taimur Rahman at his facebook profile on January 25, 2014.

Stalin

Pablo Neruda

To be men! That is the Stalinist law! . . .
We must learn from Stalin
his sincere intensity
his concrete clarity. . . .
Stalin is the noon,
the maturity of man and the peoples.
Stalinists, Let us bear this title with pride. . . .
Stalinist workers, clerks, women take care of this day!
The light has not vanished.
The fire has not disappeared,
There is only the growth of
Light, bread, fire and hope
In Stalin's invincible time! . . .
In recent years the dove,
Peace, the wandering persecuted rose,
Found herself on his shoulders
And Stalin, the giant,
Carried her at the heights of his forehead. . . .
A wave beats against the stones of the shore.
But Malenkov will continue his work.

Source: archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=12173

Hourglass of the Free

George Tumaob Calaor

The night
whispers
the silence
of its
darkness
as its breeze
passionately sails
the song
of the
night birds.
the stars
flickered
with winks
in constellations—

…they are
like footprints
of squads
and battalions
of freedom
marching on
and humming
whisperingly
the gains
of their
advances
in bringing forth
their protracted
struggle closer
to the fullness
of victory.
skylines of mountains
are so blessed with
the growing range
and numbers
of the
chosen ones—

so vigor
and courageous
in unchaining
the world from
the bondage of
greed!
forests soon
shall be owned
no more…
rivers and seas
shall so soon…
will become
rustles
and waves
of a bounty
life…
the plains
will no
longer become
cities crying
the agony
of hunger
as the world
so fast, turning
into a nation
of people…
classless
and free!

NEWS

Stalin's 61st Death Anniversary celebrated in Pakistan

MARCH, 2014: The Stalin Society Pakistan (StSP) and Pakistan Mazdoor Mahaz (PMM) celebrated Joseph Stalin's 61st Death Anniversary in Lahore. Speaking at the occasion Shaukat Ali Chaudhry, the General Secretary of the Mahaz, and Saad Yousaf Aahni, the Chair of the Society, paid tribute to 'one of the greatest and the most influential leader of 20th century' and stressed on the need to counter the biased propaganda against him.

The Society also organized an event in Karachi under the supervision of Mushtaq Ali Shan, the President of the Sindh Chapter of the Society.

The events were attended by the people from different walk of life including students, workers, journalists, academicians and social activists.

Founding Congress of Stalin Society of North America held in the USA

MARCH 8, 2014: The Stalin Society of North America (SSNA) was founded as an educational, political and historical society at a meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA. The Founding Congress was attended by about a dozen people, including many young people, from different parts of the United States, from several different ML parties and organizations as well as unaffiliated people The Congress opened with a reading of greetings from the Indian SSNA. After some discussion a mission statement and by-laws were drawn up and unanimously approved. These will be available at the web-site of the Society at www.stalinsociety.org/ and should soon be translated into Spanish and French. An Executive Committee was also established according to the by-laws in order to guide the work of the society.

The founders were all in agreement that the Society will not become a political party or organization. However, it is not meant to be an academic institution. The Society hopes to have an influence on the revolutionary movement and left in general in North America, by providing an understanding of the contributions of J.V. Stalin to Marxism-Leninism and to the building of socialism in the USSR.

At a separate event in Cambridge on the same evening, Professor Grover Furr of Montclair State University gave an inspiring talk to some 40 people on his two books, Khrushchev Lied and the Murder of Kirov, followed by a lively question and answer session. Professor Furr was presented with a plaque by Alfonso Casal, the chair of the Society. Alfonso Casal stated: The society was "specifically created to counter anti-communist history, cold war myths, and specifically to restore the original historical verdict of Joseph Stalin as one of the giants of the 20th centuries and one of the figures in the progression of mankind". Casal then thanked Stalin Societies from England to India to Pakistan for their help. He then continued, "From the first, we knew we were going to honor an individual whose numerous articles both in Russian and English, whose two books Khrushchev Died and the Murder of Kirov, have placed him as the leading Marxist writer of Soviet history. The full video of the talk (2 hours) can be seen at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uPY0O3HN3rA

Source: Northstar Compass, May-June 2014 Issue.

International Stalin Society formed – Press Release

The formation of International Stalin Society (ISS) has been officially announced today on 17th June 2014. ISS would be a consortium of various Stalin Societies functioning in individual countries across the globe. It has been decided that Mr. Harpal Brar of the Stalin Society (UK) will act as the founding Chair of ISS in its first term. Mr. Zane Carpenter from the Stalin Society (UK), Mr. Saad Yousaf Aahni from the Stalin Society Pakistan, Mr. Kari Kalan from the Stalin Society of India and Mr. Alfonso Casal from the Stalin Society of North America will be acting as the Vice Chair, General Secretary, Joint Secretary and Information Secretary of the ISS respectively in the first term.

The request of the Stalin Tour, an organization from Georgia, to join ISS has also been approved and further memberships requests are expected.

The International Stalin Society will help coordinate different pro-Stalin organizations across globe to fight anti-Stalin propaganda and to promote Stalin's progressive legacy. Standing against all massive anti-Stalin false propaganda and lies, ISS will be propagating research-based reliable history of Marshal Joseph Stalin, the great teacher of working class and liberator of humanity from the clutches of Fascism.

The Head Offices of the Stalin Societies of UK, Pakistan, North America and India will serve as the regional offices of the ISS.

-Signed-

Chairman (Harpal Brar)

Vice Chairman (Zane Carpenter)

General Secretary (Saad Yousaf Aahni)

Joint Secretary (Kari Kalan)

Information Secretary (Alfonso Casal)

INTERNATIONAL STALIN SOCIETY

Date: June 17, 2014

Stalinists condemn installation of obscene statue of Lenin in Poland

Following is the Press Release by the International Stalin Society on the installation of 'obscene statue' of Lenin in Poland. It was also place on Change.org as Petion in June, 2014. – Editor.

We demand removal of the obscene statue of Lenin in Nowa Huta, Poland

On June 12, The Telegraph reported 'Polish town erects statue of a urinating Lenin'. We strongly condemn this act of utmost obscenity and artistic crookedness which dares to insult an immortal leader and teacher of working class masses across the world. We consider this fascist act a continuity of the recent anti-Lenin wave in Europe starting last year from an attack on Lenin's historical statue in Ukriane an act that was equivalent to the attacks on the Buddha's statue in Afghanistan by the fascist Talibans.

We condemn this act and demand the removal of the obscene statue of Lenin and its replacement with the original revolutionary style statue of V. I. Lenin.

INTERNATIONAL STALIN SOCIETY

(A Consortium of the Stalin Society-UK, the Stalin Society Pakistan, the Stalin Society of North America & the Stalin Society of India)

Stalin Society of Georgia joins International Stalin Society

In December, the Stalin Society of Georgia joined the International Stalin Society (ISS). In his request to a representative of the International Stalin Society, the founder of the Georgian society, Grigol Oniani, stated that 'we have got a lot of experience and knowledge to share with each other and I hope we can cooperate together in order to spread the truth' concerning Joseph Stalin. In his response to the Georgian society, the General Secretary of ISS, Saad Yousaf Aahni, strongly welcomed them on the board. He said, 'we strongly believe that with your participation our struggle to refute propaganda and lies directed against the Excellent Comrade J. V. Stalin will further be strengthened'. He further quoted Stalin, "I know that after my death a pile of rubbish will be heaped on my grave, but the wind of History will sooner or later sweep it away without mercy" and expressed hope that together they will accomplish this great historical task along with their friends in England, Pakistan, India, North America, Italy and other countries.

Stalin Society of Pakistan launched its Two Chapters in Hyderabad and Jacobabad.

In October and December, the Stalin Society Pakistan established its two chapters in Hyderabad and Jacobabad, respectively. Mr. Yameen Jatoi, the newly appointed General Secretary of the Society, will be the Incharge of the Hyderabad Chapter and Mr. Shadab Murtaza, the Information Secretary, will facilitate him in this regard while Mr. Shabir Azad will be the Incharge of the Jacobabad Chapter. Both chapters will be reporting to the Sindh Chapter of the Society. In their separate statements, the Society's Chairperson Mr. Saad Yousaf Aahni, the Vice-Chairperson Mr. Mushtaq Ali Shan and the Joint Secretary Kamran Abbas congratulated and appreciated the Society's team in both of the cities for their hard work and expressed hope that the sphere of the Society's activities will soon include more cities in near future.

Stalin's Biography Published in Urdu

The biography of Joseph Stalin has been published in Urdu by the Fiction House, Pakistan. It is a translation of the Russian edition of the work published during the Stalin period. The book can be purchased from any outlet of the Publisher in Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad at PKR 300 or by writing at *fictionhouse2004@hotmail.com*.